/139 cont./

372 are made in one of the sticks, and the rounded end of the other stick fits into them. [Figs. 1, 2, and 3 appear here.]

The first stick is placed on the ground and held down with both feet. The other stick is placed with its round end in one of the hollows, and it is twirled as rapidly as possible between the flat palms of the hands. As can be seen in the picture Photo. 19), the hands slide downward during this process, and frequently a second man immediately starts at the top when the hands of the first operator have moved all the way down. A kind of tinder of thoroughly dried birds' nests (weaver bird?) is placed around the bored hole. The fine dust from the twirling begins to smoulder after a few minutes, and the tinder is then fanned to a flame by blowing with the mouth.

[622] The "captain" (aichab) of the settlement sees to it that the fire does not go out. A "sacred" fire does not exist. Keeping the fire from going out is a matter of sheer practicality since twirling to make fire is, after all, fairly strenuous.

354 A few stones, which, incidentally, are not found everywhere in the Kalahari, represent the hearth. In rainy weather cooking is done inside the windscreen.

462 The woman does the cooking while the children help her. In exceptional cases the paterfamilias may busy himself at the cooking fire.

On occasion all the members of a family will go out to get water and wood. Construction of the house is purely woman's work. Bachelors' huts are likewise built by the women of the horde.

415 Wooden cooking pots exist. Supposedly they are obtained ● 439 through barter from the Ambo.

The Auin either carves primitive spoons out of wood himself, 322 or he obtains them through barter from the region of the Ngami 415 [439] [Lake Ngami?]. Frequently special artists at carving are to be found among the older men. The upper, concave part of a 415 small turtle shell, whose lower, flat side has been cut off, often [321] serves as a spoon.

These shells are also used as drinking vessels, and, along with hollowed-out tschama, they are the only drinking vessels that I found.

/140 cont./

266 I spoke with a number of elderly Auin about this, and they were by no means indignant at the suggestion. Their reasoning was approximately the following: "Our parents never told us one should eat human flesh. If other old people were to enjoy it, then we could do it also."

In view of the low cultural level of the Bushmen, the absence of anthropophagy is, in my opinion, very striking.

D. Ornaments and Hairdressing

301 The following ornaments were observed.

Among men:

Neck ring, a thin wooden ring made from the so-called rosinkis bush and tied together to form a circle, decorated with lines scratched on it. Arm rings. Three to 20 simple braided rings (see Photos. 3 and 4). The iron beads probably come from [439] [237] the eastern Kaffir tribes. The rings are made from the web of a tree spider (Stegodyphus dumicola Pocock?). A number of strings are bunched together in a ball, and this is "noodled" with the flat of the hand on the upper thigh into strings of the approximate thickness of a knitting needle. The strings are then wound together in pairs and the ring is closed by "noodling together."

Rings around the wrists. The same rings as those worn on the upper arm. In addition, simple rings three to five millimeters wide, made of game leather, as well as individual rings made of [439] iron or copper wire. The latter are said to have been bartered from Batauana.

Lower leg. Some men and women wear one or two leather rings directly below the knee on one or both legs. These leather rings are somewhat wider than the leather rings around the wrists (see Photos. 12 and 14).

Among women:

Head ornaments. Various combinations of chains of ostrich egg shells, as shown in Photograph 20. Sometimes only a piece of such a Molentza chain is braided into the hair of the forehead (see Photo. 36, woman dancing on the left). I also found this ornament on one man.

/143 cont./

411 the upper end of the shaft (strips of leather or neck tendons of a large antelope); c, shaft.

/144/ With the exception of the iron point of the throwing lances, all the weapons are manufactured by the Auin themselves. [439] The lance points reach the interior of the Kalahari from Lake Ngami through trade.

411 435 The lance point (see Fig. 6) is the Bushman's most valuable possession. One hardly ever sees such points in a settlement, even if he comes unannounced, but only the shafts that go with them. In this respect the Bushman is so suspicious that even within the settlement he always hides the points, usually by burying them.

[422] Every adult Auin possesses one or more spears.

411 The iron point is inserted into the wooden shaft somewhat loosely so that it can easily be taken out. The upper end of the shaft is wrapped with a strip of antelope skin or antelope neck tendons. The point also serves as a tool for handwork in place of a knife.

[482] When the lance is carried, for which a leather strap like a rifle sling is used, it is commonly protected by a small leather cover (Photo. 25i). [Fig. 7 appears here.]

The manner of holding the bow and arrow when shooting seems to be fairly arbitrary. I have recorded the most common methods pictorially (see Photos. 29 to 32).

The bowstring is made of animal tendons twisted together. The strings were always pushed up on one side and fastened at the other (see Figs. 7a and 7b).

Composite bows do not exist.

The arrows are made exclusively from reeds which merely need to have grown straight to supply the ready-made arrow shaft. At the upper end, where the loose arrowhead is inserted, and at the bottom, where a simple, ordinary notch is made, the shaft is always wrapped with a flat, narrow grass band. Sometimes places in the middle of the shaft are wrapped. The length of the arrow shaft varies between 48 and 52 centimeters.

Feathered arrows do not occur.

411 The art of making arrows and arrowheads is a common possession of all adult Auin. There are no special arrow makers.

463 An exception to this is the manufacture of iron arrowheads, which is practiced only by some individuals, usually older persons.

/144 cont./

411 quiver. Sometimes the arrows are in a special quiver made of
[237] eland horn or bark, which is closed off at both ends with a leather cover (see Photos. 29 and 32).

The Auin almost always carries in his quiver a small container like the arrow quiver of eland horn or bark just described, in which he keeps arrowheads, poison, and other small necessities for shooting.

The notched end of the arrow is pulled toward the chest when the bow is drawn.

714 The war cap is to be regarded as the sole battle ornament. It is made of aardwolf hide (see Photo. 21).

H. Hunting and Agriculture

224 Hunting is done both individually and in groups.

[231] Hunting dogs are to be found in occasional, isolated instances,
[439] but then they are usually obtained from the Kaffir or Betschuana. The Auin maintain, however, that they know how to train hunting dogs. Collars and the like are not customary.

/145/ [Fig. 8 appears here.]

[422] I was unable to discover whether marks of ownership are applied to weapons and the like. On the other hand, I noticed that people immediately recognize their possessions.

There are no closed seasons on hunting.

251 The Auin prepares a kind of dried meat. Pieces of meat of any length and width are cut very thin (almost transparent) and are dried on trees in the sun. This dried mass, as hard as wood and inedible to a European, keeps for weeks during the dry season. There must be an almost unlimited surplus of meat available, how-
[264] ever, if the Auin is to decide to preserve some, since he is accustomed to stuff himself to the point of unconsciousness. I have seen a single Bushman, without any help, consume a fully grown Klipbok weighing about six kilograms.

224 Undoubtedly there are especially industrious and impassioned huntsmen, as well as the opposite. I found some people who were absolutely useless on the hunt.

[Text continues on page 25]

/148 cont./

628 684 captivity. Blood vengeance is exacted by the Bushmen for adultery under all circumstances.

J. Luxuries

276 [439] Tobacco, which is exclusively an imported product, is greatly coveted. A pipe of tobacco is the Auin's greatest pleasure. [Fig. 10 appears here.]

Taking snuff is unknown.

Everybody smokes, including little children.

324 The Auin manufacture a tobacco pipe (see Fig. 10) from a soft red stone (serpentine) which supposedly is found only at the watering place Korikas. Indeed, immediately above the source, one does find a kind of modest quarry there.

/149/ A fragment of this stone is conically hollowed out with a lance point or an iron knife and then shaved down on the outside toward the hollow until the wall is about two to four millimeters thick. This pipe resembles an ordinary conical cigar 276 tip. A wadding made from the nest of the weaver bird (?) prevents the tobacco from falling out.

Occasionally one will also see a pipe plug or cleaner which usually is made of rosinkis wood without the bark and is attrac- [531] tively decorated with a kind of pyrography. The decoration consists of lines and dots scratched in with a red-hot needle. The hairline precision of the lines is particularly striking.

The pipe plug (see Fig. 11) is worn around the neck on a chain of glass beads or on a leather belt (see also Photo. 1, the second man from the right).

The Auin only occasionally receives tobacco, either from [439] the Whites when he performs services for them as a messenger, [648] guide, and the like, or from Kaffirs employed by Whites, who exchange it for veld food.

Hemp or dacha of the Kaffirs (haium of the Auin).

Hemp is smoked in the ordinary tobacco pipes with equal passion by men and women.

I did not see anyone who had become ill from smoking hemp. The Auin themselves were only aware that its enjoyment sometimes produces nausea.

276
531 Fig. 11. Pipe Plug. One-half natural size [as shown in the original].

An example of Auin decoration.

The design is scratched on the wood with a needle; the dots are pricked in.

a, hole for a string
a^1, side view
b b, long part
c, point
d, side view of the point

The Bushman second from the right in Photo. 1 is wearing the pipe plug around his neck.

276
●439 The hemp is cultivated by the Kaffir in Oas, by the Betschuana in Chanse Veld, and probably also by White farmers. The Auin acquire it through barter.

249 The Auin maintain, furthermore, that they are capable of growing hemp themselves. This "cultivation" is done in the following manner: in soft sandy soil a circular area, 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter, is surrounded by a little dam a few centimeters high. Using one finger, ten to 15 holes are made in the area surrounded by the dam, and a hemp seed is placed in each hole. The "seedbed" is then kept well under water.

/152 cont./

804 reflective and sly facial expression is exactly the same as ours.

O. Techniques

●439 511 A definite domestic industry is present. Whatever the Auin really needs, he is able to manufacture for himself. All imported objects are luxury items. I make an exception in the case of the iron lance points, but I believe that if necessary the Bushman could even do without them.

463 The beginnings of a division of labor can be seen in the fact that only certain individuals practice the smith's trade, which, incidentally, does not extend to the manufacture of lance points.

323 Pottery is unknown.

439 Pots, supposedly from the Okovangga, are to be found sporadically. The Auin, however, is unable to repair such a vessel, as by puttying.

285 Rings of braided grass are manufactured. I myself have never seen them, since they are only made of young, but no longer green grass, in other words, shortly after the rainy season.

[294] It is said that at the same time of year certain special artists braid hat-like head coverings.

The grass rings and hats have only a limited durability, for in September and October there was none left for me to see.

[415] Sieves are made of parallel grass leaves joined together by thin strings. They are used to strain food.

"Kirris" are made with attractive decorations (Fig. 12).

413 A root stock with a knotty end is peeled and made smooth.
531 A kind of pyrography is practiced on it by wrapping it, leaving bare spaces, with a long strip of the wet bark that was peeled off, and then placing the entire stick in red-hot coals. The unwrapped parts burn to a black color, while the other parts remain white.

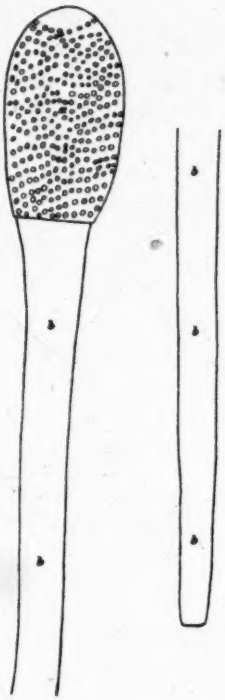
I could not learn the purpose of these decorated sticks among the Auin. They use rough, pointed sticks for digging sticks. The kirris, therefore, seem to be luxury articles.

412 Iron knives, sharpened pieces of iron, or lance points are used as tools. As an example of pyrography, see the pipe plug, page 33.

/153 cont./

411
412

Fig. 12. Club. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].



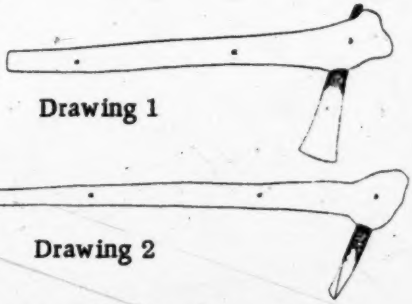
[177]

The club is an exceedingly rare imitation of a Makobe club and made by the Auin themselves.

a, knob of the club, showing burned-on decoration.

b b, handle.

Fig. 13. Ax. One-quarter natural size [as shown in original text].



Drawing 1

Drawing 2

Drawing 1. Ax with perpendicular edge:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

Drawing 2. Ax with horizontal blade:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

[439] The iron blades are obtained in trade from Makoba.

[6 cont.]

101 account refers only to the latter.

821 [7] The sky is designated by them as !nanu áiba Éroba Kharésa ("rain house of god").

776 For god they have the expressions "Erob" and "χ'amab;"
775 only "Erob" is used in prayers. χ'amab (1) has been preserved

1. χ indicates a very low gutteral click, for which I know of no notation.

in χ'amá //gu Khe = "people who are with god," in other words, the souls of the deceased in heaven. Everyone goes there, the good as well as the bad. Erob has no wife and no children. A human being has only one soul (!gau-ba). This soul goes to the heavenly house and remains there "until Erob makes new people from it." Here is a belief in the transmigration of souls, which, it must be admitted, is not thought through any further.

No spirits of the dead remain on earth. There are little
776 bush spirits, the gangorob; they are harmless and do nothing. There are no evil little spirits. They supposedly know nothing about Heiseb and /Nawa.

136 The supply of game is ample in the tall dry forests of the Otjimpolo Veld. There are also fish in the rainy season. The
[825] Bushmen call them "shiba" (Ovambo: oshi or ochi); in other words, originally they had no word for them.

224 The Bushmen are helpless against the lion (χ'oréba).
[825] They leave a region as soon as lions make it unsafe. "There is no point in hunting them."

The leopard (χ'nába) is hunted with dogs (ariba). The
● [439] chiefs of Amboland pay a good price for the skin, since little princes and princesses are not carried in a litter made of cowhide, but in a leopard skin. The jackal (≠Khai-eba) and the Löffelhund (//arúba) [a fox-like wild dog of the subfamily Octocyoninae] are hunted with enthusiasm. "Aruba" probably corresponds to N. //arob = striped jackal.

Wild dogs, "Khere," !nube (N. !goub) are preferably
[825] avoided. No notice is taken of the hyena, ≠Khai-lasa (N. ≠heirab),
[262] and it is not eaten. When they come near the camp, it is not a
[787] good sign.

WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

[8 cont.] HENCE THE RULE IS THAT THE WEDDING AND THE GIRLS
585 initiation coincide, and usually the girl moves to the village of
881 her first husband immediately after the completion of the festivi-
[591] ties.

584 When a man is courting, he must first attempt to obtain the consent of the girl. Once he has succeeded, he goes to the girl's parents. If they also give their consent, the engagement is settled. At this point, all communication is interrupted until the bridegroom appears and says to the girl's parents: "I want to have the wedding now." If the parents agree, they go to their relatives to spread the happy news. If the relatives object, they can still prevent the marriage. If they do not, the date of the wedding feast is fixed. In the bush, the bridegroom must bring the bride's parents a piece of big game. Usually people make matters
439 simpler for themselves. Either they have already earned a head
584 of cattle from a black farmer, and this stands ready in the farmer's
648 herd to be fetched for the wedding feast, or -- and this is more
452 common -- the Bushman will begin a begging tour around the black farmyards until someone gives him a cow as an advance on hides to be supplied later or on work to be performed.

452 And miraculously, this always succeeds. It is to be ex-
648 plained on various grounds. A black farmer, whose worst character traits include avarice and greed, would never give another Black who possesses nothing one of his dearly beloved cows on the strength of uncertain promises. And not unjustly. The next day the cow would have disappeared into the stomachs of the borrower and his friends, and on the day after that the borrower would have disappeared beyond the tribal boundaries. Repeatedly the Bushmen came to my camp too late. But from the Ukuanjama I always received the assurance: "The Bushmen will keep their word; they will certainly come if they are alive." In addition to this, of course, there is the symbiosis. Each village has its
[437] Bushmen. During the period of the harvest they suddenly appear
/9/ and help with it. Between times they never miss a celebration, and at one time or another this one comes with hides and another with honey. And finally the chiefs of the Bushmen kin
[622] groups see to it that nothing happens to injure the reputation of
[674] the Bushmen. It is unheard of for these people to commit theft.

WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD
DAMA

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[107]

Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate themselves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Cháraba. I do not believe that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantuized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides, ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

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[12 cont.]

000 439 occupation. Even among the nomadic groups, however, meat, hides, and so forth are commonly traded for millet.

[222] Also, the Blacks like to have veldkost on their table, and the Bushmen, like our sponge and berry gatherers, use their knowledge to supply them and carry on petty trade with their veldkost, as well as with honey.

222 137 This is the reason that veldkost, which is either scarce or not very tasty, is not gathered at all any more; indeed, the knowledge of its presence is even disappearing. We must also not forget that the black shepherd boys long ago acquired the knowledge of the Bushmen by observing them. As a result, the number of those interested has naturally climbed sharply, and the veldkost plants have become rare. The following kinds are still regularly gathered:

222 /airoba (ombimbo) Sweetish, very starchy tubers, like large potatoes.

/érui (omauungă) Galls on the leaves of the omsati tree.

≠gan-i (esarata) Small fruit.

!Khui-i (oombi) Dates.

!Korob-ke (oompali) Bulbs at the roots of a liana.

251 439 Dried meat is made from kudu flesh, which in part is kept and in part sold.

278 [13] Arrow poison is made from the sap of a tree (Euphorbiacea), !Khores-Ke. The Ondonga themselves make no [439] arrow poison, but buy it from the Bushmen for one to two sh per 752 portion. There is no medicine against arrow poison. Deep incisions are made at the place where the arrow entered, and after blood has flowed freely from the wound, it is sucked. In the case of snakebite the same procedure is followed, and some arrow poison is placed on the wound (!!!).

278 609 Our Bushmen denied any knowledge of poisons added to food. Only the "evil Bushmen" in the east had such knowledge, they claimed. This statement scarcely deserves credence.

177 In clothing, dwellings, and weapons, as well as ornaments, not much that is original remains. The process of Bantuization is much further advanced in the material culture than in the spiritual culture. It is, after all, easier to part with clothing than with ideas.

AKUANAMBUA

[13 cont.]

Chapter 4

The Bushmen of Ukuambi

115 At an outpost of the Finnish Ukuambi Mission, where I undertook anthropological measurements, I encountered a Bushman from the hordes that live on the northern bank of the Etosha Pan and stand in a loose dependent relationship partly with Ipumbo, partly with Shanika. I was able to converse with him only a few hours.

101 These Bushmen in Ukuambi, as well as at other places, belong to the Ezimo of the Akuanambua. They themselves are [614] divided into a number of exogamous kin groups. My informant belonged to the clan Ari-Ari. The tribe calls itself Akese or Kere and comes from the region between Okaukuejo and Outjo. Today this tribal organization is broken up. The following names -- formerly independent hordes which now live mixed together -- were mentioned to me: /Aru-Kwe, Ashuche, Asécha, !Kuru-Kwei, A !Kha-ta-bé, A-Hei-tére, A !gnuri.

648 Insofar as these Bushmen do not already lead the life of the Bantu farmers, they are hunters, spies, and occasionally also executioners for the chiefs. They manufacture ostrich egg beads [+39] and poison. For twelve good ostrich eggs they receive a fat ox. The Ovambo have quite a peculiar outlook in this respect. They spurn the perfectly good eggs of their hens. The ordinarily somewhat "disreputable" ostrich eggs are purchased for dear money as a delicacy.

611 The sons belong to the family of the father, the daughters to that of the mother. The men are not allowed to eat hares, 262 but the women and children do. The eating of hyenas and boa constrictors is prohibited to all.

776 Concerning their religious conceptions I was able to discover the following: In the sky dwells the great captain !Khuwa, which means the same as Huwe. In answer to the question about God, however, he stated that this was Erob, which naturally coincides with the name for God, Ellob, of the Rhenish Mission. The name !Khuwa only occurred casually in the conversation. He was unable to give a clear answer to my question as to whether

[18 cont.]

134 The ground is covered with red sand (fox sand), which in the thorn bush areas changes to a firm, grayish-yellow; perhaps argillaceous sand. Chalk cliffs and other rocks are completely lacking. The Kaudum bed is perpetually covered with dense green grass. The sand pans have humous sand; only in the northeast near Schamatura is a peat-like swampy soil to be found with red, strongly ferruginous water. Forest fires are the order of the day, but they do little damage to the tree growth."

133 South of the Omuramba u Owambo there is a fairly large
134 number of limestone pans, which in part still contain water but are mostly dried up. The land there is drying up rapidly, according to both the Bushmen and the Europeans. During the rainy season the clayey soils are swampy, and at that time the
[136] [164] dense bush forest is filled with myriads of mosquitoes, and malaria claims its victims from all races. The unhealthy situa-
648 tion, the difficulty of getting workers, and the irregularity of the rainfall have led to the abandonment of most of the farms outside Grootfontein, so that the Bushmen have actually gained ground there. The !Kung Bushmen outside the police zone live entirely according to their old customs and traditions. The in-
[578] [619] dividual kin groups are in part hostile to one another. A kind of hereditary feud exists with the Hei//om, who are often attacked because of the women. The !Kung live on good terms with the farms along the northern boundary (Duwib, Keitsas, Keibeb, Kuntsas, Neitsas, Foxhof). Many of them work there for
[464] certain periods of time, and quite a few permanently; in particular, they like to let women and children work on the farms.
[177] Mr. Cleark, the owner of Keibeb, has trained a large number of
[439] them to make charcoal. These Bushmen make the charcoal out in the wilderness and deliver it. It is then resold to the mottramite mine in Abenab. Until the establishment of the police zone, a perpetual state of war existed between the police and the Bushmen. There are constant battles between the Herero of Otjituo and the !Kung because of livestock thefts. The Herero attack the Bushmen on horseback and kill them from the saddle with the kirri.

The Bushmen, who are not accustomed to shooting at rapidly moving targets, usually come out the losers. Like the

[36 cont.]

Cooking and Cooking Utensils

354 Lumps of surface limestone are generally used as hearthstones.
412 Here and there, as a great rarity, one finds a pounding stone of quartzite.

To pound the veldkost, small mortars, carved out of wood, with conical or hemispherical bottoms are used. In case the mortars become damaged, holes are made on either side of the crack, and the flaw is drawn together with bast strips and also smeared over with resin. The shape of the pestle, which is from 50 centimeters to one meter long, is shown in Figure 7.

415 Originally these !Kung had no pots and probably had no
[252] way of boiling anything. The usual manner of preparing food even today is to roast and grill it on and between hot stones. Nowadays,
[431] every horde owns a number of pots acquired from the Okawango.
[482] These pots have bast or tendon plaiting around them, by which they
[439] are fastened when carried on the march. The Okawango people gladly exchange these water pots, which they have carried with them on the waterless stretch, for food from the Bushmen in the area between Karakowisa and Nuragas.

416 Small cast-iron tripods are a very popular article. A
417 longish, crudely carved stirring stick, as well as a piece of hardwood for arranging the fire, completes the inventory of the Bushman kitchen. Spoons are unknown.

Clothing

291 The clothing of the woman, as has already been repeatedly described, consists of a front apron and a back apron, made of soft leather, and a leather cloak something like a pelerine. Usually she also has a carrying hide for the baby. Generally, the child does
[854] not sit on her back, as among the Blacks, but on the side of her hip.
[415] In addition, the woman has the large veld bag in which she keeps the
[412] finds from her collecting. On the march, the woman is equipped with the simple digging stick, pointed at the bottom.

The men are clothed only with the modesty apron and in addition

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the 293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 • They do not want European blankets. They catch fire 291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re- [123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having [124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in [412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess [325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in [439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that, [531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead em- broidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich 301 egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are [321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence [556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are [462] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around [306] the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of [302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to LENGTHEN THEM.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire. [40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 [439] Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be- [422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 [304] Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out 177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked 415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are 278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen. 805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions; 211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 [614] [688] [623] Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary. To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements BETWEEN THE CHIEF AND THE OTHER OLD MEN.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 25]

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[76 cont.]

411 The little bow (!naru) is made from the //ne bush and is
[192] much shorter than that of the !Kung. The arrow and the arrow point are called tschi. They have arrows with iron points like the !Kung, as well as others made of bone. The accompanying figures show the two types, which have already been sufficiently described by other authors. The arrow points found in older collections, on which the poison is applied not only at the tip but also in lines or dots of little lumps on the contact piece, are now no longer in use. The bows of the Naron are also small, and they likewise have two kinds of arrows. The arrow shafts are made of reed, which is used only in a few places. In addition, all these tribes have root-stock clubs. Spears (kuku) are bartered
439 from the Ovambo in exchange for ostrich egg beads. Bleek
231 writes [77] of the Naron that formerly they had no dogs at all, and Kaufmann reports that the ≠Auin have very few dogs. The Nogau had all kinds of mongrels, but none of any peculiar strain. Two animal stories should be told in this connection:

539 1. A large bird killed a duiker. Then the hyena came and took the duiker. The hyena met the jackal. The jackal said: "Hyena, you should not go where you want to go, otherwise bad things will happen to you!" But the hyena went anyway, and the great bird (!gui) came and tied the hyena's feet together and made a fire by its feet. Since then the hyena has black legs and dares not kill anything living. But the jackal also went stealing, whereupon the great bird seized him and held him with his back to the fire; since then it has a black stripe across its back.

2. The lion came to the watering place; then the frog came out of the water and mocked the lion. The latter wanted to kill the frog, but only scratched it on its back; the frog quickly jumped into the water again, but since then it has black stripes on its back. [Fig. 27 appears here.]

10. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The clothing of the man consists of the cap, made from the hide of the jackal, the jumping hare, or the duiker, and the loincloth, sandals, and the hide bag. In general the clothing of these Bushmen is not essentially different from that of the Bushmen

[77 cont.]

291 in the north, but they have far more ostrich egg pearls.
[301]

11. Weapons

The ≠Auin have the throwing lance; the digging stick is
411 occasionally also used for striking and as a throwing club. The
[439] lance points are bartered from Ngami Lake. The upper end of the shaft is bound with a strip of antelope skin or tendons. The shaft tapers off toward the end. The lance points are distinguished as male and female. The male points have blunt barbs. The points are often provided with a leather cap. The lance points also serve as a knife and universal instrument. The spear points are kept well hidden. Among the Naron, spears
411 are very rare today; they are ob-
439 tained from Ovamboland in exchange for chains of ostrich egg beads. The same is true of the Nogau, who, however, obtain their spear points in part from the Ovambo and in part from the Okawango by way of the !Kung.

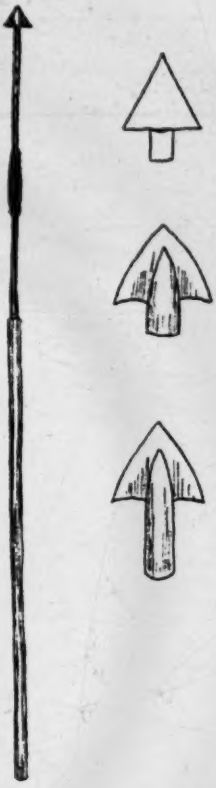

Fig. 27. Arrows of the Nogau.

The bow of the ≠Auin is small;
411 the string is twisted out of animal
[283] tendons and is pushed up on one side and fastened on the other. The arrows are made of reed. At the bottom of the shaft there is a shallow notch, and the end is wound with grass. Similarly, we find a notch at the upper end where the point is inserted. The length of the arrow shaft is from 48 to 52 centimeters. The points are made either of iron or bone; in the latter case ostrich bones are used. The bone arrowhead is pointed at both ends, one of which is inserted

≠AOIN
NARON
NOGAO

[79 cont.]

224 water or Brak (salt) place and is prevented from turning off the track by thorn branches placed on either side of the worn track, steps on the little stick lying just below the ground, which moves it out of position and releases the end of the little transverse stick. The string, having lost its hold, releases the bent tree, which snapping back, tightens the noose around the leg of the game and holds the animal imprisoned until the Bushman brutally kills it with a number of blows of his kirri, which is carved out of hard
223 wood. For various kinds of fowl, doves, etc., the Bushman prepares similar slings with thinner string, which are set up in the same way except that the sling is not placed on the ground but is held two or three centimeters above the ground by means of little sticks planted in a circle. In the center of the circle, on a little stick loosely covered with sand, there are a few maize kernels or berries. When the bird picks them up, he moves the little stick out of position and finds his neck in the sling. -- As household
415 implements among the Kalahari Bushmen, in addition to the hollow
237 ostrich eggs used to carry water, I found water sacks made from the inner peritoneum of an animal, not unlike a pig's bladder; these water sacks are closed with a short stick and leather string.
[312] The ostrich eggs also serve the Bushmen as artificial watering places in the dry stretches of the water-poor steppe regions, in which a number of them are hidden under the sand.

415 "Among the other household utensils of the Bushmen, I also found flat, wooden vessels, wooden mortars, and earthen pots of various sizes. The wooden vessels, which are completely different from those of the Herero, are, according to their own state-
[439] ments, obtained in trade from their northern neighbors. The earthen pots likewise are not made by the Bushmen themselves. In form they are somewhat reminiscent of the wooden Omeira pots of the Herero and, as a Herero half-breed declared and demon-
600 strated to me, are manufactured in the following manner. A lump of soft and thoroughly kneaded clay is spread out over the naked, moistened knee, so that first of all it assumes the form of the knee. The calf of the leg must be pressed to the thigh in order to obtain the correct shape. Then the clay is carefully taken off, and the shape of the vessel is improved and perfected by kneading it with the fingers. Finally simple decorations are scratched into it with a

/255 cont./

281 The hair is removed from the hides. After the skinning, the hides are stretched out on the ground for two days, exposed to the sun; then the hair is removed, and subsequently the juice of a red tuber is rubbed into the hides on the inside. After they have been prepared in this manner, they are buried in the ground for a longer period of time and are then ready for use.

291 Not infrequently the Bushmen wear sandals which they cut from antelope hide in the simplest manner imaginable. A leather sole is fastened with three thongs to a leather ring lying over the instep and drawn tight below the ankle. One thong runs between the first and the second toe, while the two others run inside and outside the foot.

301 The children go about quite naked. Despite this sparseness of clothing, the feeling for ornamentation finds full expression.

Many ornamental objects serve as amulets which are worn for a great variety of purposes. The women are more richly adorned than the men. Whereas the latter frequently content themselves with arm rings made of antelope leather, the women are usually overloaded with ornamental objects. One of the favorite women's ornaments is a necklace made of ostrich egg shells. The shells [321] are worked into small, approximately penny-sized circular disks which are pierced in the middle and strung on a leather thong. Arm and leg rings are made of the same materials.

In place of the little ostrich egg disks, colored glass beads [439] obtained in trade are frequently used for necklaces and arm rings. One sees many a woman walking along with a tortoise-shell box hanging on her chest, /256/ which is decorated with bead-studded leather strips and used as a container for tobacco.

Pierced pieces of root, distinguished by natural rings notched at regular intervals, are strung on leather thongs for necklaces.

224 I found the following ornamental objects which simultaneously
301 served the function of an amulet:

1. Little pieces of dried antelope flesh are worn on the chest in the belief that the wearer will not lack meat to eat so long as he wears these guarantees.

2. The same significance is attached to dried antelope ears which are worn in a small leather bag on the chest.

/257 cont./

301 people that I did not find among the Heikum. The Kung of the Kaukau Veld had rings braided from wildebeest tail hairs as arm and neck ornaments, and had made similar arm and leg rings from twisted grass. Furthermore they wore strings of twisted bast criss-crossed over the chest in considerable numbers. In addition, in the Kaukau Veld I found neck rings of dried and braided antelope tendons and, in larger numbers than among the Heikum, copper, [439] brass, and iron rings. The latter are obtained by the Kung Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld through trade with the Ovambo [Ambo] and Betschuana [Tswana] in exchange for ostrich eggs and antelope hides.

415 Like their clothing, the house furnishings of the Bushmen are also very simple and quickly enumerated.

Wooden pans of various sizes, without handles, are generally found in every hut. For the pounding of food, the Bushmen use a cylindrical, mortar-like wooden vessel with thick walls and a [412] very strong bottom. A heavy staff about 30 centimeters long and four centimeters thick is used for pounding.

352 For chairs, they use wooden stools which by European standards are absurdly small. They consist of two circular wooden disks scarcely the size of a hand and joined by two wooden rods. They stand about ten centimeters high.

412 There are plenty of axes in the villages. They consist of small iron blades attached to thick wooden handles. The shape of the axe shows that the value of the iron necessitates frugal use of this valuable metal. The force of the blow, which in the case of European axes is produced by the weight of the iron part, is achieved by the Bushmen through a club-like enlargement of the wooden handle near the end of the axe. Side by side with axes that have a longitudinally-placed cutting edge, one also finds axes with a transverse cutting edge.

A common tool is the knife for removing hair from animal skins. This knife consists of a short, transverse iron blade imbedded in a wooden handle.

276 There are various kinds of tobacco pipes, The Bushmen, who find a leaf tobacco in the bush throughout the year, are experts at making an improvised pipe bowl from a root tubercle in the shortest possible time. Large pipes made of the end of a kudu horn

/257 cont./

276 that has been cut off are very popular. The cut surface of the end of the horn is pressed to the mouth, and the smoke is sucked into the lungs in a deep draught. Very frequently simple cartridges are used as primitive, but nevertheless serviceable tobacco pipes. [439] Clay pipes, which are not uncommon in the Kaukau Veld, are imported from the Betschuana.

415 /258/ A common kitchen utensil is a large, flat wooden spoon with a bent handle, which, however, is not used to place food in the mouth, but only to fill vessels. The Bushmen eat with [264] their fingers; they drink their soups from the communal wooden bowl and polish up the rest with a crooked index finger and by licking it out with the tongue.

[482] As pots they use pumpkin [melon?] vessels bound with leather thongs and carried over the shoulder on sticks.

[439] As a special display object in many a hut one finds a large clay vessel with strong walls and decorated with white bands that have been notched into it. This vessel is imported from the Ovambo.

372 The tools for firemaking command special interest. The Bushman is acquainted with two, the dáni and the //oro.

The dáni (dâ = fire) consists of two wooden sticks, each about 40 centimeters long. The rounded-off end of the one stick fits into a pan-like cavity at the end of the other stick. The edge of the pan is provided with a little opening through which the glowing wood that has been rubbed to tinder can be emptied onto a smooth stone during the fire-twirling. The Bushman can make fire with this tool in less than half a minute.

[439] The other firemaking device known to the Bushmen is the //oro, a flint with striking ring and tinder box, imported from the Betschuana.

412 A tool that in addition to its use in leather working also serves medical purposes is a pointed iron needle about 20 centimeters long and three millimeters thick, carried in a narrow leather sheath by almost every male Bushman. [752] The needle is used with great skill for the removal of thorns from the skin, an operation which the Bushman naturally must frequently demand of his medicine man.

482 In addition to the above-mentioned hunting implements, the game snare and game hook, I was shown a wooden staff, approximately one and a half meters long and worked with some skill, which is used for carrying game over the shoulder,

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roasted plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups, bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The */Nu-//ĕin* and *//Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the *ǂAo-//ĕin* and other tribes living to the north. Articles made by the former form an important medium of exchange. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich eggshells are used for carrying and storing water and for the manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time form the most important article of barter among the */Nu-//ĕin, Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-//om*. Among the most northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omura* tree, are the principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive communities are surrounded.

The Bushmen are one of the most primitive peoples living on earth. Although most of their groups own some metal objects, Bushmen do not smelt or forge metal, but get it in trade from their Bantu neighbors. They use soft metal in the making of a few tools such as knives, arrowheads, and little axes, cold-hammering the metal into shape themselves. Bushmen make the other tools they use from wood and bone, grass and fiber, the things of the veld. They dig roots and pick berries to eat because they have no crops. The desert is too dry for anything but desert plants to grow naturally, and Bushmen, who quickly consume all the wild food available in one place, cannot stay anywhere long enough to tend crops or wait for them to grow.

There is not enough water to water livestock, and for this reason Bushmen have no domestic animals. Most of their groups do not even have dogs. Instead of herding, Bushmen hunt wild antelope with tiny arrows, sometimes made of soft, traded metal, sometimes made of bone, and poisoned with a terrible poison extracted from a certain grub, a poison which affects the nervous system of a creature and which is so deadly that an antelope shot early in the morning with a single arrow well placed in the body dies within the day. Hunting is very difficult, for travel in the veld is thirsty and rigorous and the antelope are clever, but as often as not the Bushmen hunters shoot one and then they use it all. Most of the meat is dried to preserve it, causing it to last at least a few weeks, but sooner or later every last bite of it is eaten, even the mucous lining of the nostrils and the gristle inside the ears. They sometimes eat the hide, sometimes work it into leather to use for clothing, and if the antelope bones are not all cracked for the marrow, pieces are worked into arrow points to shoot another antelope.

In order to live as they do, Bushmen must travel through

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

[151] that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust
174 and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus
131 swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and
133 dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen
[184] live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months of the year have no water at all and do without it.

609 Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land
563 they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and
648 shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco,
464 and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European
648 farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is working, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occasionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the employer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but occasionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit the ten shillings altogether.

648 European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is
291 symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and
439

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

also because, made of cloth instead of leather, it is more clinging, therefore warmer and more comfortable, and dries faster when wet. It is sought after and desired, it is got through employment; yet, even so, Bushmen hesitate to seek employment because they believe that they will be badly treated (as they sometimes are) and they often find the customary wage and food ration to be inadequate for anyone who must support a family. Supposedly, the wives of Bushmen laborers are free to look on the farmer's land for roots and berries, as they would if they were living in the veld; but, as it happens, after a few years the supply of wild food around a farm becomes exhausted.

The Bantu farmers, being as a rule much poorer than the European farmers, are less generous to their Bushman serfs. They also give a food ration of cornmeal and milk but almost never meat, for any meat that may come into the Bantu kraal is eaten by the Bantus unless it is the carcass of a hyena or a leopard which the Bantu masters have killed for the pelt. The Bantus say: "Our Bushman servants are like our children; they herd our cattle for us and we feed them. A child does not ask for wages when he helps with the family work."

Besides this, the Bantus badly cheat the Bushmen who come in from the veld to trade cured antelope hides for metal and tobacco, sometimes asking several hides, worth several pounds apiece, for enough tobacco to fill the palm of the Bushman's hand, or for a piece of wire long enough to make an arrowhead. All in all, it does not benefit the Bushmen to live anywhere near Bantu or European settlements, and that is why the Bushmen of the veld run and hide when they see Europeans coming, believing that they may be taken by force (as they sometimes are), and why they avoid going to a Bantu settlement except to trade for tobacco when they feel

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

825 mash the insides, then pull off the head and squeeze the in-
278 sides out like toothpaste from a tube. Both kinds of poison are equally good, they say.

Perhaps the two types of pupae are the pupae of two different kinds of beetles. Perhaps they are from the same beetle but in different stages of development. Perhaps they really are males and females, as Bushmen are often scientifically
[821] accurate, but, as Bushmen also have male and female rain clouds, perhaps not.

● [439] Kung Bushmen, who use metal arrows obtained by trading
824 animal skins for wire with the Bantus, have a complicated
825 system of poisoning in which they use several ingredients for
278 the poison paste. One of these is a binding fluid, used because the pure poison squeezed from the grub will not adhere well to metal but must be made binding and sticky. The binding material comes from the bark of a tree. They chew
[415] the bark thoroughly and spit the mash into a little mortar
237 made from the knee bone of an antelope, a nice little cup, into which the Bushmen have squeezed the milky juice of sansevieria plants, got by wringing the heavy, thick leaves. This juice has an irritating effect when it is dissolved in a wound and causes the antelope to rub and scratch its wounded spot against a tree, which stimulates circulation in the area, which carries the poison more quickly through the body, which hastens death.

The paste in the mortar is thoroughly mixed, then smeared with a straw on the foreshaft of arrows, never on the head, for if the sharp edges of the head were poisoned any child might accidentally nick himself and die. When the arrow is poisoned it is propped up by a fire and the poison is allowed to dry into a shiny dark paste, to be melted again by the
411 moisture and warmth of an antelope's flank.
825
278 Gai had stored his poison cocoons in a tiny bag inside his

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

SEATED YOUTH, above, enjoys a smoke as his companions make characteristic !Kung gesture—arm outstretched—to show they also wish a turn with the pipe. Because the !Kung crave tobacco, but grow none, they must trade for it—often disastrously—with the Bantu peoples on the borders of *Nyae Nyae*.

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[P. 78]

FIG. 21. Gao Beard hammers out a spear blade. His young second wife sits composedly beside him at the family fire. She did not build a scherm for Gao when they settled this time. The upright sticks around their grass bed serve to symbolize home. The object which looks like a club behind Gao is an adze handle. His fire scraper lies in front of him

516

FIG. 22. A man cooking meat in a Bantu clay pot (obtained by trade)

[415]
[439]

FIG. 23. Smoking a soapstone pipe

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142

FIG. 24. Old Demi, grey-haired, is in his seventies. We figured his age roughly from his telling us that when he was a young adult he was, by chance, an unwilling witness lying under a log to a skirmish of the German–Herero war

[P. 240-G]

301 431 The most highly valued gifts are the traditional ornaments of ostrich egg-shell beads, especially the wide headbands and necklaces of five or six strings of beads reaching to the umbilicus. The creamy white is becoming to them. They like European beads also, of all colours, though white is definitely their preference. The only thing they do not like about beads, Gao Beard told us, is shortness of the string. After ornaments, the /Kung value implements or utensils, *‖gwashi* or dance rattles, which have required time and care to make, but perhaps more especially valued are metal objects and pots. The latter are obtained by trade. The /Kung do not trade among themselves. They consider the procedure undignified and avoid it because it is too likely to stir up bad feelings. They trade with the Bantu, however, in the settlements along the B.P. border. The /Kung offer well-tanned antelope hides and ostrich egg shell beads. For these they obtain tobacco, beads, knives, axes, malleable metal for making arrow-points and spear-blades, and occasional files and chisels, fire-strikers, and pots.

[438] 439

435 439 The odds are with the Bantu in the trading. Big, aggressive, and determined to have what they want, they easily intimidate the Bushmen. Several /Kung informants said that they tried not to trade with Herero if it was possible to avoid it because, although the Tswana were hard bargainers, the Herero were worse. /Qui said he had been forced by a Herero whom he was afraid to anger to trade the shirt and pants we had given him as our parting gift in 1952 for a small enamel pan and a little cup. /Ti/kay had more gumption. A Herero at the beginning of a negotiation with him brought out a good-sized pile of tobacco but took from it only a pinch when it was time to pay. /Ti/kay picked up the object he was trading and ran off. ≠Toma said with amused exaggeration that 'a very good Herero, a respectable one, will give a handful of tobacco for five cured steinbok skins. A bad Herero will give a pipeful (he showed the size of his fingernail) for three skins.' The Tswana values are a little better. A well-tanned gemsbok hide brings a pile of tobacco about 14 inches in diameter and about 4 inches high. The values vary. Some that were reported to us were three rooibok, duiker, or steinbok skins for a good-sized knife, five strings of ostrich egg-shell beads for a spear.

439 [Tm] [411] [458] The /Kung have become dependent on metal, especially knives, axes, and arrow-points. They have been able to trade enough for every man to have these implements. They could, however, exist without them and do still use a few bone and wood arrow-points. Poison makes their arrows deadly, not penetrating power. The pots are Ovambo or Okavango pottery (the /Kung make no pottery themselves) or European ironware. The /Kung like to have a pot around to borrow sometimes; not everyone wants to carry one. They cook mostly in hot ashes. More for their novelty, I thought, than for their worth, the /Kung trade also for old oddments of cloth garments (they weave neither cloth nor mats), pieces of blankets, basins, &c.—things they do not really need—but which they like.

306 431 Tobacco they need 'to make the heart feel better'. Oddly enough for these passionate smokers, tobacco was not given so much emphasis in gift-giving as one might expect. They do make gifts of tobacco, but when anyone lights a pipe he passes it around anyway; all present drag smoke into their lungs until they almost faint and it has not mattered much who owned the tobacco.

302 431 Eland fat is a very highly valued gift. An eland provides so much fat that people

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

VEGETABLE MATERIALS (*contd.*)

REEDS

Made and used by men
arrowshafts

Used by women
strips for tying frames of scherms and for tying grass on scherms in times of high wind

Worn by all as head and chest bands

BARK

Made and used by men
quivers

Tsi NUTS

Used by all as beads
Used by boys as weights for *jani* toy

STONE

Made by men
arrow-straighteners
pipes

Used by men for
sharpening blades
hammers
anvils
weights to stretch nets
marking graves

Used by women
powdered red earth for ceremonial markings on face

OBTAINED BY TRADE WITH BANTU

MALLEABLE METAL AND WIRE

Made and used by men
arrow-points
spear-blades
spring-hare hooks

Made by men, used by all
pipes
awls

Used by men
knives
axes or adzes
chisels (few)
files (few)
fire-strikers) (few)

Used by all
beads—copper, glass, shell, &c.
pots—Bantu clay, European iron
pipes (few), European briar, old cartridge-shells
receptacles (few)
old scraps of garments and blankets
oddments such as buttons for ornaments

Résumé

LE PARTAGE ET LE PARLER: SOULAGEMENT DES TENSIONS SOCIALES CHEZ LES BANDES DE BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

DANS cette communication, l'auteur décrit plusieurs coutumes de Boschimans /Kung dans la région Nyae Nyae de l'Afrique du sud-ouest, coutumes qui les ont aidés à maintenir des relations pacifiques au sein de leurs groupes et entre les divers groupes de la région. Ces coutumes ont été observées au cours des expéditions Marshall de 1951–9. Les modifications

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

184 The northern !Kung of Angola and Ovamboland are closely
648 associated with Bantu agriculturalists. In 1925 Bleek ob-
222 served that "In contradistinction to the southern !Kũ the
241
439 women and children (i.e. of the Angola !Kung) are not collectors of wild food. Once or twice a year when certain berries ripen, the whole tribe goes out berry picking; otherwise they live by hunting and bartering part of the meat and skins obtained for the agricultural produce of their neighbors...." (1928:108). Westphal visited the Angola !Kung in 1964 and confirmed Bleek's observations (Westphal personal communication).

184 The southern division of !Kung work on the European
221
464 farms in the Ghanzi and Gobabis districts. Many of them
648 spend the summer months in the veld, hunting and gathering, but return each year to winter on the farms (Silberbauer n.d.).

Among the central division of !Kung are found Bantu-associated peoples, farm laborers, and independent traditional hunters and gatherers. In the Grootfontein district of South West Africa several thousand central !Kung are working
131 on European farms. Along the Okavango river for 500 miles
184 of its length from Cuangar in the northwest to Sehitwa on
648 Lake Ngami, some further thousands of central !Kung live with, and work for, the Bantu of the following tribes:

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well as grass chains and bracelets, berries and shells. Glass beads and iron or wire bracelets obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples or from European traders are also in great demand. The men usually content themselves with leather and bark bands, worn round the arm above the biceps and on the leg below the knee.

There is no special style of hair-dressing. The hair is as a rule kept in its natural form, although occasionally the whole or part of the scalp is shaved clean. Some women, however, uncurl little clusters of hair and roll them out with fat, so that they hang down a couple of inches, making a fringe round the head, while girls often tie small ornaments such as beads or shells into their hair.

Washing is altogether unknown, save among those Bushmen who have been much with Europeans. Generally both young and old rub their face and body with fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*, a sweet-smelling powder ground by the women from various kinds of aromatic shrub. Many women carry small tortoise-shells filled with powdered *buchu*, and use a bit of soft bird's nest or else a piece of jackal's tail as a puff (Plate XI). The face and body are also often painted, especially before a dance, not only by the younger women and girls, but occasionally even by the young men. The colours found are chiefly red and black, the former obtained from clay, the latter from charcoal. Both are mixed with fat, and the mixture is smeared on with a finger.

Hottentots

With the advent of European civilization, much of the original Hottentot culture has disappeared. Their clothing especially has been almost everywhere completely replaced by garments of European pattern, and it is rarely, if at all, that the old native dress can still be seen. But from the descriptions of the earlier writers it is possible to obtain a fairly clear picture of what the Hottentots wore before European clothing became so widely adopted as now to be their universal dress.[1]

The clothing of both men and women consisted principally in front and rear aprons of skin, depending from a leather thong tied

[1] The fullest descriptions of the old Hottentot dress are given by: P. Kolb, *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1719 (new ed. by P. Germann, 1922), 84–96; Fritsch, op. cit., 309–13, 357–8, 373; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 205–7; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 83–6; Schultze, *Aus Mamaland und Kalahari*, 233–52 *passim*, 207–11 (decoration); Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 183–94 (dress and decoration).

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Cooking

252 is done chiefly by the women, assisted by the children; in exceptional
[462] cases the men also may cook. Wild cucumbers, nuts, bulbs, and similar plant foods are baked in hot ashes covered with cinders. A bright fire is made and allowed to die down, a hole is scraped in the ashes with a flat, paddle-shaped wooden scoop, the food put in and covered over. It is then eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge, after being pounded up in wooden mortars or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood. Birds, snakes, small antelopes, etc., are baked in the same manner; ants are similarly treated, and then sifted through a mat of loosely-woven reeds, while locusts are either baked or boiled. *Grewia* berries are sometimes eaten as picked, stone and all, sometimes stamped in the mortar and swallowed uncooked. Some specially dainty kinds of meat are roasted over the fire on a wooden spit stuck into the ground. Other kinds of meat, again, as well as stamped
[439] locusts, *tsama* seeds and foods obtained from the white man, such as mealie meal, are cooked with water.

415 The "tame" Bushmen now use any sort of receptacle, such as a
[439] paraffin or paint tin, for cooking purposes; the Auen and Naron in their more primitive condition used wooden pots, made by themselves or obtained by barter; while among the more Northern tribes clay pots obtained by barter from the OvaMbo and other Bantu tribes are sometimes found. The actual manufacture of clay pots by the
[184] Bushmen themselves seems to have been restricted to the tribes
[323] south of the Molopo. Food is eaten direct from the pot or from plates
[264] and bowls made of wood. Wooden spoons are sometimes found among the Northern tribes, but generally either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Fire is everywhere made by drilling a thin hard stick in another,
372 somewhat softer, in which there is a notch (Plate IX). This second stick is held firmly on the ground by one foot, while the drill-stick with its lower end pressed into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the hands until sparks come. A little dry grass is in readiness to catch the spark, and when it has caught alight dry wood is gradually added until a good fire has been set going.

In this connection reference must be made to certain special
372 observances relating to fire which have recently been recorded by
622 Fourie about the Heikum. "All fire," he says,[1] "is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to

[1] Op. cit., 87,

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that among the Bushmen all game is shared out among the members of the band. To what extent the same elaborate rules of division exist in the other tribes is difficult to determine. The only other indication of similar practices is found in the texts obtained by Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen. Only a selection of these have so far been published, and the information contained in them is rather fragmentary. But it appears that women, for example, were not permitted to eat the meat of the shoulder blades, lest the men subsequently prove unsuccessful in hunting; that the man who shot the animal might not take part in cutting it up; and the bones which were left over had to be carefully put aside in certain special ways.[1] Obviously such usages hint at an elaborate procedure in regard to the cutting up, distribution, and treatment of the meat; and one can only regret that all the details relating to them have not yet been made available.

Narcotics

As narcotics the Bushmen use chiefly tobacco and dagga (*Cannabis sativa*), the latter a herb with marked intoxicating effects. All grown-up people, and even small children, smoke tobacco when they can get it. They do not cultivate it themselves, although a few men among the Auen and the Naron are said to have made slight efforts to grow tobacco and dagga after the manner of their Bantu and Bergdama neighbours.[2] Almost all the tobacco used by the Bushmen is imported through trade or obtained by service with other peoples, and they are always extremely keen to acquire it.

In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case! Pipes consisting of an antelope horn were largely used by the Cape Bushmen. Near the point of the horn was made a hole, into which was inserted a reed tube, and on top of this was fitted an elongated clay bowl to hold the tobacco. When these pipes were used, some water was put into the horn, the mouth applied to the large orifice of the horn, and the

[1] Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collated*, 15; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 271 sqq.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 18; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148–9.

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276 smoke sucked through the water by deep breaths into the lungs. A somewhat similar form of pipe is found among the Heikum and the Kung, but apparently water is not used here in smoking. Further [171] east, among the Hiechware, a method of ground-smoking is found similar to that obtaining among the neighbouring Bantu peoples. A small hole is made in the ground, into which the man puts the tobacco; he then inserts his pipe-stick through a small tunnel and smokes.[1]

Dagga is mixed with tobacco or smoked by itself whenever obtainable. The habit is said seriously to affect those addicted to it, both physically and morally. When taken in slight quantities the [164] herb has no visible ill-effects, but excessive indulgence is most deleterious to the health, and if persisted in sometimes causes mental aberration and frenzy.

273 Few of the Bushmen know how to make any kind of liquor themselves. The only exception, perhaps, are the Namib Bushmen, who, [171] after the manner of their Hottentot neighbours, brew a kind of mead out of honey. They are very partial to this drink, which plays an essential part in all their festivities.[2] The other Bushmen in general also do not seem to trade for any liquor, although they all appreciate alcohol and native beer when it is given to them. The Hiechware, [439] however, are said to be excessively fond of native beer, which they obtain by barter from the BeChwana; and, according to Dornan, they contrive to get drunk whenever they can.[3] Drunkenness as a rule is very exceptional among the rest of the Bushmen.

Sexual Life and Marriage

Conditions and Forms of Marriage

114 There is very little information about the relations of the sexes before marriage. Either the subject is not mentioned at all by our 836 authorities, or it is curtly dismissed in a short sentence. Kaufmann, for instance, reports of the Auen merely that prenuptial intercourse hardly ever seems to occur[4]; Lebzelter writes of the Kung that chastity is insisted upon before marriage[5]; while, on the other hand, all Miss Bleek has to say in this connection about the Naron is that

[1] Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 164 sq.; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 131; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 257; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 122–3.
[2] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 168; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 504.
[3] Op. cit., 121. [4] Op. cit., 156. [5] Op. cit., (16).

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and in minor quarrels it is the weapon of offence or defence. The spears have long wooden shafts and an iron head about six inches long. The latter is obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu, but the spear itself is made by the Bushmen. For the shaft they pierce the end of a stick, then heat the tang of the iron head in the fire and insert it, binding the joint tightly with sinew.[1] Relatively few of the men possess these spears, and as they do not appear ever to have been used by the Southern Bushmen they can safely be regarded as weapons borrowed from the Bantu.

Methods of Hunting

The Bushmen, as already indicated, have a variety of devices for catching game, the particular method employed being determined by the nature of the intended prey and the season of the year.[2] In some cases the animals are run down on foot. In this manner, for instance, small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, and even big game such as the gemsbok, are hunted during the "big rainy season" (late summer), when the ground, sodden with moisture, impedes the progress of the animals and causes them to fall an easy prey to the hunter, who on overtaking his quarry kills it with the kirri or the spear. This method cannot be employed for small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor, but in the hot part of the dry season young buck are easily caught in this way, as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. Many varieties of big game, such as the wildebeest and zebra, are also run down in the hot dry season. After a herd of game has been located, one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly, never once being allowed to rest, until it is exhausted and brought to bay, when the hunter comes up and kills it with the spear.

Burrowing animals, such as the spring hare (jerboa) and anteater, are caught in their holes by means of a long barbed stick. This is poked down the hole into the animal's flesh, either to drag it out or to transfix it while another man digs down to it. Snakes are sometimes caught in the same manner. The man who pulls out the snake runs fast, dragging it after him, while others throw kirris and spears at it; this cannot be done in grass or the snake may escape. Steenbok,

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 14; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4, 152; Gretschel, op. cit., 102–3.

[2] The fullest descriptions of the hunting life and methods of the Bushmen are given by Stow, op. cit., 80–94; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 667–8; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 45 sqq. (an exceptionally detailed and graphic account); Kaufmann, op. cit., 144–7; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 94 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 15–16; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 99 sqq.

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soon as the dog has gripped his prey." Among the Naron these dogs are procured from BeChwana, Bergdama or white men in order to hunt jackals, leopards, lynxes and other animals whose skins are valued for making karosses. The skins so obtained are brought to the giver of the dog and bought by him at his own price for tobacco or trade goods, chiefly the former. The dogs are sometimes used by the people to catch hares and small buck for their larder, but are never taken out to hunt larger game.

In addition to these different methods of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons, the Bushmen employ various methods of trapping. Pitfalls are often made during the dry season in the path to a waterhole or along river banks, and covered with bushes. In the Central and Northern Kalahari these pits are about four yards long and deep, and not quite a yard wide. They are dug with the ordinary digging-stick in such a way that a small wall of earth is left standing in the middle, but not reaching to the surface. Large animals in attempting to escape out of the pit jump on to this partition wall, where they remain hopelessly suspended on their belly. Other pits of the same nature, especially among the Southern Bushmen, often have pointed stakes placed in the middle. They serve to catch big game animals, such as rhinoceros, which are then killed with the spear, and in particular those, like zebras and antelopes, which come down in herds to drink at the water. In former times, when there was a far greater abundance of game, whole valleys were sometimes enclosed, and large numbers of men combined to drive a herd of game down from the heights into the trap in the valley. Galton describes one of the most remarkable works of this kind. "We passed a magnificent set of pitfalls which the Bushmen who live about these hills had made. The whole breadth of the valley was staked and bushed across. At intervals the fence was broken, and there broken deep pitfalls were made. The strength and size of timber that was used gave me a great idea of Bushman industry, for every tree had to be burned down and carried away from the hills, and yet the scale of the undertaking would have excited astonishment in far more civilized nations. When a herd of animals was seen among the hills, the Bushmen drove them through this valley up to the fence; this was too high for them to jump, so that they were obliged to make for the gaps, and there they tumbled into the pitfalls."[1]

[1] *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*, 106; cf. Wikar, "Berigt aan den ... Heer van Plettenberg," 88–9; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, I, 386–7; Chapman, op. cit., ii, 80–1; Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," 695; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 78–9.

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decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom, which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water, and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones. The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

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Division of Labour

In the manufacture of these different utensils, implements, and garments, as well as in the collection of food, there is no division of labour within the band save as between the two sexes. Every man is expected to be able to hunt, to make bows and arrows, and to do all the other things that are done by men; and in the same way every woman is expected to do the work recognized as pertaining to women. Some women, it is true, are more clever and industrious than others in making beads, some men better at hunting or at twisting rope and boring pipes, but all know how these things are done and none devotes his life to any one of them exclusively. The only special occupation is that of the magician, who in addition to having religious and magical functions is also the physician, but otherwise even he lives and works as do the rest, getting a few presents for his occasional services.

The division of labour between the sexes is clearly marked. A man hunts and snares game, fishes, collects veldkos as the opportunity arises while he is out hunting, prepares skins, makes the clothing for himself and his family, makes his own weapons, arrow-poison, firesticks, and other implements, twists rope, manufactures the larger wooden vessels and other utensils, makes fire, and occasionally assists the women in fetching wood and water. A woman builds the hut for her family, gathers veldkos and prepares the food, fetches wood and water, maintains the fire, makes her own ornaments, and is also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Among the Auen the beginnings of specialized labour are found in that certain men work in iron, i.e. make spear and arrow heads and other implements out of any pieces of iron they can obtain. The production of raw iron from the ore is unknown to all the Bushmen, who, as a rule, obtain whatever iron they use by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples. Among the !O Kung of Angola a further division of labour was found by Miss Bleek in a group at Rusembu, where only the good shots went hunting, while other men worked in iron, and another appeared to be the trader and honey gatherer.[1] But specialization of this kind is quite exceptional in Bushman life.

Trade

Although the Bushmen are thus able to draw from the resources of their environment almost everything they really need, economically

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 153; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55.

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177 439 they are no longer self-sufficient. Contact with other peoples has made them familiar with various articles, especially iron and tobacco, which they now covet very greatly and in order to obtain which they carry on an extensive system of barter. Even within the band itself [437] there is a good deal of barter in such things as meat, clothing, veldkos, and utensils. Berries and roots, for example, are exchanged for tobacco or beads, skin bags for poisoned arrows, and so on. Trading [484] visits to other bands are also frequent. But the most common form of barter is with peoples of other races, especially the Bantu.

439 [184] [222] The !O Kung of Angola, unlike all the other Bushmen, do not go out into the veld to collect vegetable foods. These are obtained by barter. The younger men hunt, and trade part of the meat and skins obtained for the cereals, maize, potatoes, manioc, etc., of the Bantu among whom they live. Honey and wax are also collected and traded, sometimes with the Bantu for food and tobacco, now and again to Europeans for powder and cartridges. Wax is a good article of trade with Portuguese traders, and the Bushmen are therefore assiduous in collecting it. Besides foodstuffs they also obtain pots and baskets from the Bantu, as well as metal wares such as knives, arrow and spear heads, and beads.[1]

The Bushmen of the Okavango swamps, again, trade ostrich egg-shell beads, ivory, ostrich feathers, skins and horns with the inter-dwelling Bantu in return for tobacco and dagga, as well as iron and such iron goods as spear heads, hoes, and knives; while the Namib Bushmen exchange similar objects with Hottentots and Europeans for blankets, knives, tobacco, and coffee.[2]

438 Among the North-Western tribes there is a whole system of trade relations between different tribes, extending from the Okavango in the north down almost to the Molopo.[3] In this the Naron and the Auen play the part of intermediaries, obtaining from the tribes further north the objects they desire, and then bartering them again further south as occasion arises. Egg-shell beads and tobacco are standard [436] articles in this trade, in the sense that they can always be bartered and may even be said to have a fixed value. From the Naron the Auen 438 procure skin garments and bags, for the making of which the former 439 are famous, giving them in return wooden pots, dishes, and spoons

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 52–3; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 108.
[2] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland," 701; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 118–19; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 152–3; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37–8.

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made by themselves, and metal pots, spear heads, knives, trade beads, etc., which they obtain through the Heikum from the OvaKwangari and MaMbukushu further north. The Naron to the east trade their skins, and formerly also ivory and ostrich feathers, with the BaTawana to the north-east for tobacco and millet. Ostrich egg-shell beads are bartered to the Bantu by all the Bushman tribes. The Koon at Naosanabis in the south, a branch of the /nu//en, are known to make them especially well, and their beads are always in great demand, passing through the Naron and the Auen to the Bantu tribes further north and east, who pay highly for them. For a chain of these beads passing round the waist the MaMbukushu, for example, give a large basket of millet, the BaTawana a large roll of tobacco, the OvaMbo an iron spear head, and so on. The Naron also trade their skins to Europeans and BeChwana for tobacco, dagga, or trade goods, and the latter, again, they pass on to the Auen.

The extensive scale on which this trade is carried out would seem to imply the existence of regulated trading communications between the different tribes. Unfortunately, there is extremely little information bearing on this point. Markets are apparently not held, the transfer of goods, as far as can be determined, being effected almost entirely through special trading visits from one group to another. Kaufmann describes the way in which such trading visits are conducted among the Auen. A small number of men and women go to the camp of the band with whom they wish to trade, laying down their weapons beforehand. Permission to enter is then given, and the barter proceeds. He adds that even if two bands are at enmity, as often happens, women will, nevertheless, go from one to the other in order to trade. This statement, however, needs to be confirmed. Passarge also suggests that the Bantu tribes of this region probably send periodical trading caravans to the different Bushman tribes, and quotes as an illustration the fact that in former times at least the OvaMbo would, with the permission of the Bushmen, go on special trading visits to obtain copper in the Otavi district of South-West Africa.

Property and Inheritance

The economic life of the band, although in effect it approaches a sort of communism, is really based on the notion of private property.[1] The only thing owned in common is the land, and even here, as we

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 155–6; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 504; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36, 16; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 13, 16.

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big game, especially wild horses and mules. There are in those parts wild horses and mules, both so beautifully bred out by nature that no painter is skilful enough to paint them true to life with all their colouring. The horses have buttocks extraordinarily dappled, and over the rest of the body are striped yellow, black, red and pure sky blue. The mules are also striped, white and chestnut brown, but not dappled, and are uncommonly beautiful.[39]) The Sonquas in 1662 brought the skin of one of these beasts to the Cape, which our countrymen bartered from them for tobacco and other things. It was then filled with straw and hung up for show in the hall of the Fort, as something curious and uncommon, which it also is, to be seen by the people of the incoming ships.[40])

The meat of the rock-rabbits constitutes a pleasant food for the Sonquas, who live principally on it and on certain roots growing in the ground. They also keep many hunting dogs,[40a]) trained to hunt the rock-rabbits which are their principal food, and knowing how to drag these animals out of their holes.

They are extremely great plunderers and marauders. They steal from other Hottentots all the cattle they can get, with which they then flee immediately to the mountains, where they cannot be found in their retreats and hidden caves by anybody, not even by other Hottentots.

Their huts, made only of branches twined together, without woven mats, and covered solely with rushes, are several thousand in number; for they move about from one place to another, and never break up the huts, but erect still others wherever they camp.

Their little cloaks are sewn together from the skins of the wild oxen which live on the rocks. The women have a *quitazol* or sunshade of ostrich feathers, tied on and about the head, to protect themselves from the heat and burning of the sun's piercing rays.

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had shot a wild horse below the mane in the neck. This horse was very beautifully gray dappled over its whole body, except behind from the back over the buttocks and along the legs which were flame-coloured, with white, sky blue and reddish brown stripes, wonderfully beautiful . . . It had small ears like a horse. The stuffed heads and pieces of skin which the Hottentots sometimes brought to us belong evidently to another sort, as they have long ears, though extraordinarily, curiously and beautifully flame-coloured in white and chestnut brown."

[40a]) Dogs were the only domestic animals kept by the Bushmen. They were generally lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half starved and savage tempered, but excellent assistants in the chase, for which they were mainly employed.